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## NOVEMBER MEETING.

THE stated meeting was held on Thursday, the 9th instant, at three o'clock, P. M.; the PRESIDENT, Mr. LODGE, in the chair.

The record of the last meeting was read and approved; and the Corresponding Secretary, in the absence of the Librarian, reported the list of donors to the Library since the last meeting.

The Recording Secretary, in the absence of the Cabinet-Keeper, reported the following gifts:

From the estate of Mrs. Mary Seamans, of Oxford, Mass., through Miss A. L. Joslin, a series of eight heavy gold medals engraved about 1897 by Francis F. Stockwell, a brother of Mrs. Seamans, and formerly of Boston. They represent "Old Ironsides," the State House, Boston, Washington Elm, Cambridge, the "Old Ship," Hingham, Cradock House, Medford, Old Powder House, Somerville, Wayside Inn, Sudbury, and Ethan Allen and Ticonderoga. With these are engravings of the Presidents, a photograph of Mr. Stockwell, three engraved plates, and wood from the Hancock House, 1868, the Bradley House associated with the Boston Tea Party, Faneuil Hall, Old Hancock Tavern, Old South Meeting House, the Paul Revere House, and the frigate *Constitution*.

From Frank W. Sprague, two photographs of the birthplace of Chief-Justice Lemuel Shaw, at West Barnstable, a photograph of the Howe place, and one of the Dimmock-Percival House at Barnstable, Mass.

From Mr. Norcross, a specimen of the new dime.

By purchase, a photograph of the ruins of the great fire in Boston, November 9 and 10, 1872, taken by David Woodbury Butterfield from the Soldiers' Home, Fort Hill, Boston.

The Corresponding Secretary read a letter from the Old Dartmouth Historical Society, New Bedford, inviting historical Societies to its meeting to be held on the 23d instant, and reported that the Council had instructed him to ask Mr. Crapo to represent the Society on that occasion.

The Editor read the following letter:

FISHER AVE., BROOKLINE,  
7 November, 1916.

To the President and Members of the Massachusetts Historical Society:

The late Frederick Lewis Gay, in his "note" to his privately printed *Rough List of a Collection of Transcripts relating to the History of New England, 1630-1776*, said, that "sooner or later they (i. e. the fifty-six volumes covered by this *List*) will be given to a library where they can be more freely used by a wider circle of students." Although Mr. Gay died on 3 March, 1916, without leaving a will, his widow and brothers decided that his wishes, as expressed above, can best be carried out by presenting the fifty-six volumes comprising the collection as listed, and three additional volumes of transcripts of Admiral Graves papers, acquired subsequent to the publication of the *Rough List*, to the Massachusetts Historical Society of Boston, Mass., on these terms:

1. The collection to be known as the "Gay Collection of Historical Transcripts relating to New England, 1630-1776."
2. The said collection to be carefully preserved by the Society, and the freest possible use of it, consistent with its safety, be given to all historical students of serious intent. Very truly yours,

JOSEPHINE S. GAY,  
ELLEN F. GAY,  
ERNEST L. GAY.<sup>1</sup>

This generous and important gift greatly strengthens our collections of American material from English sources, and will stand as a lasting memorial of the life interests of one of its members. The conditions of gift assure the best results from the use by students of the colonial and provincial history of Massachusetts. The titles of these volumes are as follows:

State Papers, 13 vols.  
Plymouth Papers, 2 vols.  
Temple Papers, 2 vols.  
Sedgwick Papers, 1 vol.  
Hugh Peter, 4 vols.  
Letters to R. Baxter, 1 vol.  
Phips Papers, 7 vols.

<sup>1</sup> Since the death of Frederick L. Gay, his brothers have both passed away; Warren Fisher Gay died August 26, and Ernest Lewis Gay, November 25, 1916.

Knepp Journal, 1 vol.  
Kidd Papers, 2 vols.  
Letters to Royal Society, 1 vol.  
Miscellaneous Papers, 3 vols.  
Acadia Papers, 1 vol.  
Nova Scotia Papers, 6 vols.  
Mascarene Papers, 5 vols.  
Andrew Oliver Letter Book, 2 vols.  
Peter Oliver, "American Revolution," 1 vol.  
Elisha Hutchinson Letter Book, 1 vol.  
Letters of Hutchinson to Hardwicke, 1 vol.  
Hutchinson Papers, 2 vols.  
Admiral Graves' Conduct in America, 3 vols.

By purchase, Pepperrell papers, 1694-1766, and a letter book of John Rindge, 1728-1731.

Mr. BOWDITCH presented a leaflet giving five hundred and seventy-two different ways of spelling the name of Bowditch, as met in manuscript records.

Dr. Frederick Cheever Shattuck, of Boston, was elected a Resident Member of the Society.

Mr. SCHOULER read a paper on

### THE WHIG PARTY IN MASSACHUSETTS.

The Whig party in American politics was a glorious birth, and especially glorious in Massachusetts, where it found a loyal constituency to the last. To scions of the older families it recalled the proud days of Federalism and Alexander Hamilton, when New England was fairly dominant in the national councils; but the Whigs were far more advanced in ideas of popular self-government than ever the Federalists as a party had been. Men high born or low born were heartily welcome into the Whig ranks. Its two foremost national leaders and organizers, Clay and Webster, were both commoners by origin, and each in rivalry was idolized by the voters. Whigs aristocratic at heart fraternized with plebeians at the polls: the rich made friends with the poor; academicians and men of culture in the learned professions, who were especially drawn to this party, consorted with the self-educated; broad-minded merchants, with the shopkeepers; manufacturers, with those whom

they employed. Farmers and tillers of the soil were persuaded to join wherever possible; mechanics, too, and the hardy sons of manual toil; but these last, and the humble immigrant, lately from abroad, could not be so easily won over.

In such a combination for politics, where virtue and intelligence were strongly reënforced and respectability permeated the mass, able but self-constrained citizens of social standing took cheerfully the lesser posts of public service and promoted to the highest honors him who might best gain over the voters, whether because of plain and simple manners and origin, or as some military hero of contemporary lustre. During an election campaign men whose political tenets were not compared closely marched together, and sad mistakes were made in consequence; but, though often vague and temporizing as to immediate issues, the love of country and of this broad Union was always paramount in the career of this famous party. All were highly susceptible to appeals for patriotism and an American fraternal spirit; and arm in arm, in serried ranks, our Whigs kept steady step to the music of the Union. On that all inspiring theme this country never had orators to compare with their two chief Presidential aspirants; while of other eloquent leaders of the party Massachusetts could boast an Everett, a Choate and a Winthrop.

And, once again, despite its addiction to half measures, or perhaps because of it, the Whig party, whether in national, State or local affairs, furnished able, fair-minded and honest administrators far above the average of office-holders. Even in those earlier days when the patronage was held a perquisite and prize for contending parties, it stood in the main for good government and for pure and unselfish devotion to the common welfare.

In another and broader connection I have sought to set forth the strange vicissitudes, the fortunes and the misfortunes which befell our American Whigs as a national party. My object rather, in the present paper, is to trace out the progress of that party, its rise and its fall, here in Massachusetts.

By 1840, the first year of its national triumph, the Whig party had well established itself in this commonwealth. In the United States Senate it was ably represented by Daniel Webster and John Davis. Its House delegation was largely of

the same political complexion, John Quincy Adams, the most eminent among them, notwithstanding his bold and eccentric course on the floor of discussion, regarding himself as a regular party Whig. In Massachusetts, however, one of those political overturns had just taken place to which this State is always liable, with its annual elections of executive and legislature; and January opened with Marcus Morton, a conservative Democrat, earlier in politics but of late a judge on the State Supreme bench, duly installed as Governor. He had won at the polls over his Whig competitor by the singular majority of one. For Edward Everett, as it appears, who had occupied the executive chair with dignity for four successive years, lost largely with the voters in 1839 through the passage by the Whig legislature of a liquor law which seemed to discriminate in favor of the socially elect.

Nothing daunted, however, by their temporary State reverse, the Whigs of Massachusetts entered heartily and unitedly into that enthusiastic Presidential campaign of 1840 which swept the whole area of this Union and bore "Old Tippecanoe and Tyler too" into the citadel of national authority — a barren victory, as it sadly proved for the national Whigs, in course of another year. In Massachusetts "honest John Davis," as he was called, was summoned from Washington and put up by the Whigs for Governor, an office he had held before. He was chosen, this November, by about 16,000 over Morton, and the Harrison electoral ticket won by 20,000.

Two incidents of especial interest to Bostonians marked the summer of this Presidential leap year. The new customhouse here was finished, and on the 4th of July, with the gates thrown open, revealed its granite glories.<sup>1</sup> During the same month of July the first of the new Cunard line of British steamers arrived at East Boston, and that joyful event was signalized by a Boston banquet, at which Cunard was made the guest of honor and Webster made a welcoming speech.

Early in 1841 Daniel Webster resigned his seat in the United States Senate, to become Secretary of State under the Harrison administration, and Rufus Choate was chosen by the Massachusetts legislature to succeed him.

<sup>1</sup> George Bancroft, the historian, was at this time collector of the port of Boston under President Van Buren's appointment.

Of Whig newspapers in Massachusetts, and indeed throughout New England, the *Boston Atlas* led and fairly maintained the lead, in fervency of spirit, while the Whig party and its own life lasted. Its Democratic rival, with whom it sparred constantly, was the *Boston Post*, which Charles Gordon Greene conducted ably and courteously far into another era. While the *Post* tried to fasten upon the Whigs the stigma of "Hartford Convention Federalists," the *Atlas* urged the Whigs, but in vain, to adopt in their hour of national triumph the name of "Jefferson Democrats" as against the "Toryism" of the Van Buren Loco-Focos. Richard Haughton retired from the *Atlas* in May, 1841, and died soon after; but other editors who succeeded him in turn kept up the lead of this paper as New England's chief Whig organ.

The death of Harrison, when he had been President scarcely a month, was followed by the accession of the Vice-President, John Tyler, whose breach with Henry Clay and the Whig Congress at the extra session called at Washington in March led, as we know, to a dramatic dissolution of the Harrison cabinet, so far as Clay's friends were concerned. This caused the Massachusetts Whigs perplexity and dismay, for Daniel Webster remained in that administration as Secretary of State; and in letters which he published in the Boston press in September he defended on general grounds his course in remaining, and upheld the President. Union and harmony in the whole party was the loyal watchword here for the fall elections of 1841, despite a discouraging outlook; and the Massachusetts Whigs again won at the polls. John Davis was reëlected Governor, with a Whig Senate and House to sustain him and an ample popular majority.

But during 1842, as John Tyler's recreancy and selfishness became more clearly manifest, the party dissatisfaction in Massachusetts grew and showed itself. Clearly enough, the Whigs of the Union had combined on Harrison in 1840 without a distinct and harmonious policy on all points. Though disagreement had developed in Washington on reviving a National Bank, with its stable and uniform paper currency, there remained a chance for Clay's American system in other respects. Whigs were for public land distribution and for protection to American industries; but by this time President Tyler had by

his vetoes defeated both of these measures of policy as well. The hearts of all national Whigs beat warmly for Clay, who now retired from the forum of strife, baffled and disappointed, yet reserving himself for the next Presidential campaign of 1844. No other leader could now be thought of by the party. At the Whig State convention, held in September, 1843, at Faneuil Hall, Abbott Lawrence presiding, Henry Clay was boldly announced for next President, with John Davis, now Governor of Massachusetts, for Vice-President. It was a challenge to Daniel Webster to leave the Tyler cabinet at once and stand with his own party where he belonged.

This demonstration roused Webster's wrath. He had hoped to keep his foremost rival back and at all events to secure the support of Massachusetts Whigs for himself. On September 30 he met his fellow citizens at Faneuil Hall and declared himself opposed to all such anticipations of 1844. He denounced the Whig State convention for its action and for its summary abandonment of the present administration. As for himself, he announced, "I am hard to coax and harder to be driven." "Where are you going to place me?" he asked defiantly of his fellow Whigs.

Among Whig organs was the *Boston Advertiser*, conservative and judicious, then and long a favorite with bankers, large merchants, lawyers and Harvard college. This paper was trustworthy in its news, but dubious and dilatory in its editorials, where sides were to be taken. In its columns Webster's angry speech was fully reported, but a full week expired before editorial comments were made upon it. On October 8, however, its stand was announced. This journal did not wish to excite ill feeling; but, while Massachusetts Whigs were still willing that Webster should remain in Tyler's cabinet for conducting his official business, they were far from commending the President or wishing a third political party created. And on October 13 the *Advertiser* joined earlier party organs of the State in placing Clay and Davis in nomination for 1844 at the head of its editorial page.

But now and as long as he lived Webster had Massachusetts presses and fellow citizens who sustained him without faltering, through evil or good report. The November election in the State was a close one that fall, with the Whigs thus divided in



sentiment. Election by plurality did not prevail in Massachusetts until 1855. No one had a majority of the voters, and in consequence the election went to a new legislature, closely divided, which in January made the Democratic Marcus Morton Governor for 1843, as against John Davis. But, as before, Morton's executive career proved for one year only. Various incidents helped Whigs to reunite in the State before another fall. The 17th of June saw Webster the orator when the Bunker Hill monument was completed. President Tyler with his suite attended the exercises and Boston received him coldly but politely. Webster soon after retired from Tyler's cabinet, reinstating himself with Clay and his fellow Whigs, who welcomed him back again.

George N. Briggs of Pittsfield was now drafted from the Whig delegation in the national House as the party candidate for next Governor, with John Reed for Lieutenant-Governor. Webster and his friends gave adhesion to that ticket, and by a large majority in 1843 a Whig legislature was chosen, which assured the success of those candidates, at this first contest. Briggs came out at the polls with only a plurality, and hence another legislative resort in January, 1844. But from this time forward, and for the next seven years, the Briggs and Reed combination held Massachusetts more and more closely in the popular esteem and affection.

Briggs was a person of plain and simple manners, with a kind and affectionate heart, and yet a becoming dignity of bearing. He had good sense, a harmonizing disposition, and was honest as the day, temperate and sincere. Men of the highest social importance here in Massachusetts were content to serve under him in legislature, civil office or town and local magistracy. The voters of the State, moreover, were well satisfied with such a chief ruler. In person he was of good height, with a calm blue eye, a healthy complexion and a well-knit figure. His peculiarity of dress consisted in wearing a stock or large cravat of the day without any collar peering above it.

Not since the days of New England Federalism has any governor held office in Massachusetts for seven years other than George N. Briggs; and his continuous service would have been longer still except for new causes of national dissension which he had not promoted. The Whig party of the State,

while it lasted, had indeed a happy faculty for keeping loyally in the lead men who had done deserving service to the public under its auspices. Rufus Choate, after the Presidential election of 1844, refused a reelection to the Senate, desiring only professional rewards for himself, and Daniel Webster, by the general party assent, went back to reoccupy the seat he had vacated at Washington on entering the Harrison cabinet; and, when he resigned it once more, to become the premier of President Fillmore's fortuitous administration, the Massachusetts legislature chose Congressman Robert C. Winthrop in his place, as one who already had risen from State to national renown, serving in the House at Washington as Speaker, and Whig Speaker of the Massachusetts House years before. John Davis, too, though now a defeated Whig Governor, was restored to the Senate as Webster's colleague once more, when death made there another vacancy. Finally Edward Everett, back to Massachusetts from England as Whig minister, to become in 1845 President of Harvard as the veteran Quincy's successor, was by 1853 sent to the Senate to serve there for a brief and turbulent space, preceding a new era in our national politics.

Governor Morton's legislature had concerned itself in reducing the salaries of judges; but Briggs, in his first inaugural message, took the ground that the true way of reducing State expenses was rather to shorten the sessions of the legislature. That body had of late years sat usually from early January to some date in March, and for 1844 the session was ended in seventy-four days, which improved by about a week upon the record of the year preceding. That was the Presidential year, and President Tyler projected his Texas annexation scheme into the national canvass, in season to disconcert the Whig leaders, forcing the Democrats to substitute Polk for Van Buren as the candidate of that party. Clay's leadership of the Whigs, however, had proved irresistible, and at the early Whig convention in Baltimore he was nominated for the Presidency by a long, loud and unanimous "aye." Frelinghuysen was added to the ticket for Vice-President.

How Clay lost the election through the defection of anti-slavery men caused by his equivocal letters on the Texas annexation issue is well known. The long canvass for the popular vote was a close one. New York State, it was perceived, would

turn the scales; and there a Liberty party, with Birney, so divided the Whigs that Polk and the Democrats won. No such division, however, obstructed the Whigs of Massachusetts. So unitedly did they stand by Clay that their electoral ticket won at the polls, even after it had become known that their candidate had already lost New York and hence the Presidency. For the election took place on a day of November earlier in New York than in Massachusetts. No such example of political loyalty in disaster could ever occur again in this country; for, before another Presidential contest, Congress passed an act prescribing a fixed and uniform Tuesday in November for all Presidential elections throughout the Union.

Webster, who at Washington had been gently forced out of the State Department and Tyler's administration in season for the Texas intrigue of Virginians to be worked out, was in private life once more as a Boston lawyer when Clay was nominated for President. He ably supported the Whig cause and candidate, and his reinstatement with the party was heartily welcomed. Yet it was observable that, in his campaign speeches of 1844, he chiefly dwelt upon party principles and policy, and betrayed a suppressed jealousy of his favored rival, at whose final defeat he did not grieve greatly. To 1848 and its convention he looked forward hopefully for himself. Meanwhile, as I have said, he was returned in 1845 to his former seat in the United States Senate, his generous friend and fellow citizen, Rufus Choate, making way for him.

The Briggs and Reed regime held its serene course uninterrupted until the eventful year 1850, setting to Massachusetts citizens a high example of dignified and honorable administration. Effort was made, but in vain, during 1845 to introduce a new element of discord into State politics: that of Native-Americanism as against the immigrant from abroad. Such demonstration was chiefly directed against the Irish Roman-Catholics, who swarmed in all our great Atlantic cities of the North, where they gained much influence, swelling usually the Democratic party vote. In April, 1844, a Native-American ticket for honest reform won in New York City at the polls and James Harper was chosen mayor. In Philadelphia a similar movement met with much encouragement. Hence, closely following the Presidential election, which had turned

out so disastrously for the Whigs in a national sense, an earnest attempt was made to enlist the Whig city of Boston in the new cause. A three-cornered fight started here in December for the mayoralty. Martin Brimmer, the year's incumbent, declining to run again, the Whigs put up Josiah Quincy, Jr., who had been prominent in the legislature during recent years. Against him the Democrats named their candidate, and Native-Americans united upon one Thomas A. Davis. A secession from the Whigs ensued, following the example set by New York and Philadelphia. No choice was the result, no candidate gaining a majority at the polls, though Quincy figured a plurality. A second trial followed, Quincy declining to run again, and Davis made gains. At a third trial, in the same month, Davis gained still further, but still there was no choice. At a fourth trial, in early January, 1845, no one was elected mayor; but for the first time aldermen sufficient in number were chosen to make a quorum for business. At a fifth trial, February 12, Davis led the candidates strongly, but was still short of a majority. But at last, February 21, Davis was chosen Boston's mayor by the wearied voters, receiving a majority of 174, and the protracted struggle came to an end.

The Native-Americans now held a jubilee meeting at Faneuil hall, February 22, in honor of their municipal victory. But Governor Briggs declined pointedly an invitation to attend it. Another celebration was held on Bunker Hill day, June 17. Attempts next followed to make a State organization of Native-Americans in season for the autumn election; but the Whigs of Massachusetts showed themselves strong and united to prevent any such organization from becoming formidable. They took the ground that they themselves were well enough disposed to have Congress amend the naturalization laws, but otherwise felt no interest in the new movement. Native-Americanism quickly faded out from Massachusetts politics as a definite issue; our own cities were well enough governed by the Whigs in power, despite all foreign importation; and in Boston Davis himself resigned his office before the year 1845 was out and disappeared from the public gaze. No anti-foreign movement got foothold again in State or nation until the Whig party was in its grave.

Even in Boston, where the board of aldermen had wrangled

for weeks over the choice of a successor to Davis for the vacant mayoralty, Josiah Quincy, Jr., again brought forward as the Whig candidate, won in December, 1845, over his Democratic and Native-American opponents combined by a decisive majority. A new water supply for the city was now a topic of great local interest and to securing it Quincy devoted himself for the next three years.

To the annexation of Texas and the war with Mexico which followed, with its iniquitous further spoliation of Mexican soil, the Whigs of Massachusetts were unitedly opposed; and Daniel Webster voiced fairly their remonstrance in his public utterances. For two years, at least, his prospect of becoming the Presidential Whig candidate in 1848 seemed fair, though in truth there never was much chance that the Whigs outside of New England would unite in convention to nominate him. Clay, despite his years and disappointments in the past, touched a deeper chord of popular devotion; and when the new star of General Taylor's popularity rose suddenly on the horizon — as of one whose unflinching courage and patriotism had won at Buena Vista, after his own government had deserted him — it was Clay and not Webster who was sought in the national Whig convention of 1848 to save the party from adopting this military hero for a guide. Webster, though strongly sustained by Massachusetts, stood fourth on every ballot, even Winfield Scott leading him by about three to one. Both Clay and Webster were chagrined at the outcome. Webster openly declared that Taylor's nomination was "not fit to be made," and sulked through the whole campaign.

But Massachusetts Whigs indulged their statesman in his ill humor, and, studying Zachary Taylor for themselves, not only soon became reconciled to his nomination, but grew exultant over it. Party dissatisfaction with the national convention, such as it was, found vent rather in the secession of some strong anti-slavery Whigs of the State, such as Charles Allen and Henry Wilson, who, with party bolters from elsewhere in the North, joined in holding a convention at Buffalo, which put up Van Buren and Charles Francis Adams as an independent free-soil ticket. But that movement in the end really helped the Whigs; for, as against Lewis Cass, the Democratic candidate, and another non-committal party platform as to slavery in the newly

acquired territories, Taylor, though himself a Southerner and a slaveholder, was a fair and honorable man, neither aggressive on that issue nor a dissembler. Van Buren had his own personal scores to pay off this year; and, reversing the course of his State, four years before, he served with his antislavery followers to divide the Democratic vote and carry New York for Taylor and Fillmore, the latter candidate, who stood for the Whig Vice-Presidency, having himself a strong home following.

The great Empire State going this time Whig, the national contest was decided. "Conscience Whigs," as the Massachusetts seceders were now called, made no strong impression on their fellow voters in the State at this 1848 election. Nor did the sullen temper of the great Webster, from another point of view, change results. The Briggs and Reed ticket for State executive was well sustained at the polls in November, as usual. Webster's anger was suffered to pass. The favor with which "Old Zach's" candidacy had been received warmed into enthusiasm as his character and record became understood in course of the canvass. Boston, Whig to the core, pronounced strongly by November for "Rough and Ready." Those of us who, as children, witnessed the grand Whig torchlight procession, on a pleasant night not long before election day, can recall the lines of residences on the route, whose front windows, on either side of the crowded street, were illumined with small bottle lamps,<sup>1</sup> burning whale oil, to greet the ranks of shouting marchers, who bore flaming torches and transparencies, while rockets, Roman candles and Bengal lights gave added radiance to the scene.

The highly dramatic incidents which attended President Taylor's brief administration I have already set forth in their national course:<sup>2</sup> the startling discovery of gold in California, a territorial acquisition just wrested from Mexico; its rapid settlement by swarming adventurers from afar, who organized within a few brief months a free State Government and sought equal admission to the Union when Congress came together; the alarm caused at the South by the loss of equipoise between

<sup>1</sup> These bottle lamps were bought originally for illuminating the city on the night of October 25, 1848, following the grand Cochituate water celebration during the day.

<sup>2</sup> Schouler's *United States*, v. ch. ix.

freedom and slavery; and that long session of Congress in which Clay once more appeared, and for the last time, as a Senator seeking, against the President's plan of unconditional admission, to make California's admission conditional upon a mutual compromise between South and North, which might adjust forever all sectional ambitions and alleged grievances. This basis of settlement as between freedom and slavery in the Union became known as the compromise of 1850. To such a basis Webster gave his adhesion in his seventh of March speech; and the sudden and unexpected death of President Taylor in July of that year ensured the passage by Congress of all those compromise measures — a stringent fugitive-slave act being one of the features. For the compromising Millard Fillmore succeeded to the Presidency from Vice-President, with Daniel Webster as his chosen premier and Secretary of State.

Both President and Secretary of State now enforced the mandate of Congress efficiently and bore the odium together. In course of the next three years, despite some local riots and rescues, the demands of slaveholding fellow countrymen were fulfilled, Northern abolitionists and agitators suppressed as far as possible, and all loyal citizens of the land encouraged to regard the sectional pacification of 1850 as a finality.

For fellow Whigs of his own State Webster essayed the task of applying discipline to those who had differed with him. Party presses, lately in his confidence, which had repudiated his seventh of March speech — foremost among them the *Boston Atlas*, conducted, since May, 1847, by William Schouler — he punished, upon coming into the cabinet, by taking away the government patronage.<sup>1</sup> But his manifest antagonism only made matters worse for himself and his supporters, by forcing dissensions which were never healed. At the November election of 1850 in Massachusetts, Briggs, the beloved, went down in defeat before a coalition of Democrats and Free Soilers which made George S. Boutwell Governor for two successive years. The coalition legislature of 1851 chose Charles Sumner for a

<sup>1</sup> The Thomas Corwin mss. (unpublished), in the Library of Congress, contain a private letter from Daniel Webster, dated at Boston, November 13, 1850, which comments bitterly upon local Whig papers which had dissented from him, and requests his colleague in the cabinet to withdraw altogether the patronage of his department from the *Boston Atlas*, as the chief offender. Corwin was Secretary of the Treasury in Fillmore's administration.

full term to the seat in the Senate at Washington left vacant by Webster, and a statesman of a far different mould entered into public life, as Webster himself had done, in the service of the United States. Furthermore in 1852 the Coalitionists called a State constitutional convention, with the intent of changing radically the ancient document of Massachusetts both in text and in spirit.

The Presidential contest of 1852 approached. For Daniel Webster, now at threescore and ten, it was a last opportunity, most likely, for the ambitious preferment he had so long craved at heart. The South, at least, owed him gratitude. At the North, however, party Whigs were greatly divided. Some earnestly upheld fraternal sentiment throughout the Union, on the basis of the 1850 compromise to which both Whigs and Democrats announced adhesion; but the Whig majority, while accepting such measures for all they were worth, quite indisposed to raise an issue concerning them at present, doubted whether this pact of peace would endure, and awaited the future. In Massachusetts were constituents who worshipped Webster and worked for his advancement at all times and under all circumstances; but others felt that he had broken faith, and hence would not aid his candidacy that year. Both Democratic and Whig national conventions met at Baltimore in June. The Democrats, after balloting more than fifty times, nominated Franklin Pierce for President, as one of modest worth who had no enemies; and their platform pledged resistance to all agitation thenceforth of the slavery question, with an unqualified acceptance of the 1850 settlement, its fugitive-slave act included.

But in the Whig convention which followed, over fifty ballots were cast under far different conditions of rivalry. Clay on his death bed — for he died shortly after — had seasonably announced his preference for Fillmore as candidate of the compromisers; and the President himself was not inclined to yield delicately to his older and far more distinguished subordinate. Against them both such Whig delegates as were not disposed to regard the compromise measures too sacred to be ever modified supported Winfield Scott — a military hero, indeed, and yet Scott had been a Whig convention candidate before, and, as I have already stated, led Webster largely in 1848. Fillmore had 133 votes, Scott 131 and Webster 29 on the first ballot;



and thus it continued, with but little change, until on the fifty-third ballot Scott drew from each of his two competitors, neither of whom had yielded to the other, and by 26 majority won the nomination.

This unhappy frustration of his cherished hopes was to Webster a death blow. He had long been failing in health by reason of years and the cares of office. To Southern delegates returning from the convention he made plain his grievous disappointment, and the President he had served he could serve no longer. As Winfield Scott has recorded in his *Memoirs*, Webster conducted himself as one who had been cheated out of a rightful inheritance.<sup>1</sup> He left Washington and went home to Marshfield to die. Spurning Scott still more contemptuously than he had done Taylor, he privately advised his friends to vote the Democratic ticket. His death, which took place shortly before the election, cast a dark pall over a campaign never very promising to the Whigs, whose conscience voters at the North might find ready recourse to a Free Soil list of electors. Under the superb but not wholly discreet warrior whom they had named to lead them, the Whigs in November marched to a Waterloo defeat. Only two States at the North proved faithful — Massachusetts and Vermont; and only two in the South — Kentucky and Tennessee.

Though the Whig city of Boston, whose immediate vicinity felt most keenly the death of Webster, went Democratic at this time, the State at large yearned so earnestly for the return of Whig State administration that John H. Clifford, a Whig, was chosen Governor for the year 1853, another Whig, Emory Washburn, succeeding him for 1854. To offset Sumner in the national Senate, Edward Everett, and afterward Julius Rockwell, succeeded to the other seat left vacant there by the death of John Davis. But by this time the wreck of the Whig party, State or national, was being swallowed up piecemeal in the yeasty waves of a new popular agitation; and after a brief revival of Native-Americanism, as secretly developed in Know-Nothing lodges, Massachusetts surrendered herself to the long-continued protection of the new Republican party; not, however, until our Northern protest against the Kansas-Nebraska Act of 1854 had brought a large element of the

<sup>1</sup> W. Scott's *Memoirs*, 596.

former Whig party into combination with Free Soilers of various antecedents, to leaven a resistance to all further encroachment of slavery upon the national domain. And from 1854 onward American politics took a new and permanent departure on the slavery issue.

We should here note that two great mischiefs were inherent in the compromise of 1850. The first and most clearly and directly obvious was the harsh fugitive slave act. But the second, not revealed at all while Clay and Webster were alive, concerned new Mexican territory outside of California, Texas being already a slave State. It was here enacted — Webster, while in the Senate, distinctly approving — that each new State admitted thereafter from that national acquisition should be slave or free, according as its inhabitants might prefer. No such test therein ever came up; but Douglas, in introducing later his Kansas-Nebraska bill, claimed that this “squatter sovereignty” precedent retroacted upon all national territory elsewhere, to the annulment of that earlier Missouri compromise, which had set off the Kansas-Nebraska territory for freedom absolutely. President Pierce supported him in that claim and signed the act after it had passed Congress. And hence the new national agitation, consuming the parchment compromise of 1850 as a shrivelled scroll; attempted secession and a civil war followed; and in the course of fifteen years from the time Clay’s measures became statute law slavery in the whole American Union was forever abolished.

Gideon Welles, in his diary,<sup>1</sup> records a conversation on the Whig party between President Lincoln and Secretary Seward, held in January, 1864, at which he himself was present. Both Lincoln and Seward, he says, considered that Clay and Webster were hard and selfish leaders, whose private personal ambition contributed to the ruin of their party. For years, as they agreed, the Whig party devoted itself to adulation of these two men, instead of adhering to principle. This criticism, though severe, seems not unjust nor inappropriate; and certainly no other two survivors of that great national party were more competent to pronounce a joint opinion on such a subject.

<sup>1</sup> *Diary* i. 507 (January 8, 1864).

Mr. LORD read the following paper on

SOME OBJECTIONS MADE TO THE STATE CONSTITUTION, 1780.

In the preparation of an address, recently delivered before the Massachusetts Bar Association, on the Massachusetts Constitution and the Constitutional Conventions,<sup>1</sup> I found among my papers an interesting communication, signed by a Committee chosen by the town of Middleboro, and addressed to the Selectmen of the town of Plymouth, requesting that the communication be laid before the town at a meeting warned for the purpose, as soon as may be, and expressing their desire that the town should choose a man or men to represent the town at a convention to be held in Plympton on the 25th day of September, 1780, to meet with all the other towns in the county to whom has been sent the same invitation.<sup>2</sup> The purpose of such meeting was to express the opposition of the towns to the new frame of government submitted for the action of the voters by the constitutional convention of 1780, which frame of government the committee assert:

will introduce (at Least) as Many Evils as Could have Been feared from the British power in Case They had Succeeded in Their first attempts against This Continent; and ought to be Ranked among the greatest Enormities that are Sufferd To Take place among us a wicked people at This Time.

The plan proposed was to refuse to have any town meeting or do anything else in consequence of said frame of government, and the towns were asked "to join you and us with all their might in overthrowing the said constitution or frame of government as a huge monster whose uncouth and unhallowed strides may crush the people to a state of abject slavery, from which deplorable circumstance may the Heavens protect us by directing us in a right way and adding a blessing thereto."

So far as I am advised, this communication from the committee of the town of Middleboro has not been published and is

<sup>1</sup> Printed in the *Massachusetts Law Quarterly*, II.

<sup>2</sup> As the whole of this manuscript, including the signatures, is in the same writing, it is probably a contemporary copy of the original, although addressed in proper form to the Selectmen of Plymouth.

an interesting sidelight upon the ratification and adoption of the constitution by the people of Massachusetts in 1780.

The condition of the Province, to whose voters the constitution was submitted, is briefly described by Barry as follows:

It was at the south that hostilities were principally raging, and the battlegrounds of this period must be sought in that country. That the times were gloomy no one can doubt. Throughout the country the sufferings of the people were almost incredible. The life blood of the people had been poured out like water. There were desolate homes in every town; family ties had been broken and sundered. The old had grown gray in military service and the young had shot up to a premature manhood. Cities and dwellings were falling to decay, and the half-tilled soil covered with weeds, and the ruined fences, which scarcely kept out starving cattle, told of the hardships the yeomanry had endured.<sup>1</sup>

The population of the Province of Massachusetts Bay, as I compute it from the statistics and methods of computation furnished and adopted by Chickering and Felt, was substantially 378,000, and the number of polls was 75,000. The census of 1784 gives the number of polls in Massachusetts Bay as 90,757. If we assume the number of qualified voters in 1780 to be 60,000, as a conservative estimate, not more than one in five of the voters expressed their opinion on the question of the adoption of this first constitution, although the necessity for the adoption of some form of government was as imperious as it was apparent. In that year, according to Alden Bradford,<sup>2</sup> the valuation of Massachusetts was but \$11,000,000, while its nominal debt was \$200,000,000. If we adopt the calculation of the depreciation as 40 to 1, then the actual debt was \$5,000,000. It has been stated that the valuation of \$11,000,000 is supposed to be too small and that it should have been double that amount. Assuming these conservative figures — the valuation to be \$22,000,000 and the debt \$5,000,000 — the condition of the Province can be easily imagined when compared with the valuation and debt of to-day. The total net, direct, contingent and funded debt of Massachusetts on December 1, 1915, was \$86,042,692.01, while the valuation of the Commonwealth for 1915, as determined by the Tax Commissioner, was

<sup>1</sup> Barry, *History of Massachusetts*, III. 165.

<sup>2</sup> See *History of Massachusetts*, II. 189; ed. of 1835, page 295.

\$4,997,939,070, which comparison indicates in a striking way the poverty and burden of the people of Massachusetts in 1780.

The method adopted by resolution of the convention of March 2, 1780, for the presentation of the new constitution to the people for their action was:

that this convention be adjourned to the first Wednesday in June next, to meet at Boston, and that 1800 copies of the form of government which shall be agreed upon be printed and, including such as shall be ordered to each member of the convention, be sent to the selectmen of each town and the committees of each plantation, under the direction of a committee to be appointed for the purpose: and that they be requested as soon as may be to lay them before the inhabitants of their respective towns and plantations.

The action of the towns it was desired should be transmitted to the secretary of the convention on the first Wednesday of June, or it may be on the last Wednesday in May. The constitution was not to take effect unless two-thirds of the male inhabitants of the age of twenty-one years and upwards, voting in the several town and plantation meetings, shall agree to the same. Or the convention shall conform it to the sentiments of two-thirds of the people as aforesaid.<sup>1</sup>

On the 7th of June, 1780, the convention met according to adjournment for the examination of the returns from the several towns and plantations. There was a period, then, of less than three months from the date of the vote for the distribution of the 1800 copies of the new constitution to the date of the meetings of the several towns, to vote upon the ratification and adoption of such constitution. When we consider that these 1800 copies were all that were available for all the voters in the Province, from the hills of Berkshire to the settlements on the banks of the distant Kennebec, entitled to vote upon the adoption of the constitution, and that the number of towns and plantations, according to the Journal of the Convention, was 294, of which 238 were in Massachusetts and 56 in Maine, it is evident that there was ground for the complaint that these copies were quite inadequate fully to inform the people as to the provisions of the proposed constitution. The Committee in this letter stated the principle objection to the adoption of the constitution as follows:

<sup>1</sup> *Journal of the Convention.*

why the Convention Did Not allow the people Time to Comply with the Sense of their Address is Truly astonishing; when the Circumstance of the State Did not Require so great haste in that matter they Could Not But Know that from the Time the printed Copies were Sent to the Towns and they have Their Meetings To the Time of Making Returns was insufficient for Even one Quarter of the people to understand it, by help of so few Copies as Could be got.

So far as I can learn through an examination of the files of newspapers in the possession of the Society, for the period from March 2, 1780, to June 7, 1780, there was no complete publication of the proposed constitution in the newspapers. The discussion of the constitution in the press at that time related mainly to the Third Article in the Declaration of Rights, which provides for religious instruction and the support of public worship. This article was particularly opposed and was the subject of numerous communications published in the papers.<sup>1</sup> So that the only method in which the people could be advised as to the nature of the elaborate constitution submitted for their adoption was through these 1800 copies which were to be sent under the direction of a committee to the selectmen of each town and the committees of each plantation.

The method adopted in Plymouth, and probably in other towns, as that was the most practical method for informing the voter of the provisions of the proposed constitution, was to read the constitution in a town meeting, called for the purpose, and then refer it to a committee, to report upon the expediency of the town accepting the same at some adjourned meeting, at which meeting the vote was taken, and later returned to the convention, which was to examine and report upon the votes for and against the adoption of the constitution.

I find no evidence as to what the action of the town of Plymouth was in response to this communication, and it is a curious fact that the page in the record book upon which would have been written the action of a meeting, if any meeting had been held and its action recorded, is left entirely blank. Of the five members of the committee who signed the address one was a member of the convention which framed the constitution of 1780. The original address I now present to the Society.

<sup>1</sup> Barry, *History of Massachusetts*, III. 178.

All people Being Calld upon and urged from Every Rational and Serious motive, at all Times and under all Circumstances (in Sum prudent way) To oppose Suppress, and for-Ever To avoid Every unrighteous and hurtfull Thing in its first appearance in Colour and Shape to Dwell among us.

Wherefore The Town of Middleborough at a meeting legally warned for The purpose of Consulting Measures proper to be Taken at this Time against the Late frame of government (said To be Excepted etc) proceeded To Chuse a Committee of Five Men To Conduct The whole affair in Behalf of said Town, Concerning said frame of government. Said Committee Being very Sensible of the general Sentiments of the people in said Town Relative to said frame of government (so far as they understood it) Venter to assert as Their Opinion; That it will introduce (at Least) as Many Evils as Could have Been feared from the British power in Case They had Succeeded in Their first attempts against This Continent; and ought to be Ranked among the greatest Enormities that are Sufferd To Take place among us a wicked people at This Time. it may be Expected That we Now proceed To State our objections against said frame of government: our only Reason for Not Doing of it here is This: That our objections are so many as would fill a Letter To an unbecuming Length. But we hold our Selves in Readyness to State our Objections against said frame of government and give our Reasons therefor (if Required of us) at a Convention for that purpose or in any other Reasonable way. But the grand Question here will be this — Why is Middleborough so Turbulent as not to submit peaceably To a frame of government so fairly agreed upon by Two Thirds of the people; and that has been Carried on Every way according to the plan upon which the people consented it Should be done.

Our answer To this we shall Make the Foundation upon which we Expect to stand Justified in the minds of Every Judicious and unprejudiced mind; in attempting at this Time to prevent the Taking place of the said frame of government among us: which is as follows That the said frame of government is fairly agreed upon by Two thirds of The people or inhabitants of this State we Deny and say it is not so; when more than three Quarters of the Voters in This State have Never acted or Voted on the Same at all; as appeared by the Returns from the severall Towns at Convention. it may be said it was their own fault in not Voting, This we Deny also and say That a great part of the people Can be fairly Justified in not acting or voting in a Business of so great importance in which it was impossible they should understand (so as to act with Judgment) in the few Days Time allowed them to Do it in, which was undoubtedly the

Reason why so few acted in a matter That so greatly Concerned all: The Convention addressed the people Concerning a Civil Constitution in the following Just and agreeable way Saying: we now Submit it To your Candid Consideration: it is your interest to Revise it with the greatest Care and Circumspection: and it is your undoubted Right, Either to propose such alteration and amendments as you shall Judge proper: or To give it your own Sanction in its present form: or Totally to Reject it: But why the Convention Did Not allow the people Time to Comply with the Sense of their Address is Truly astonishing; when the Circumstance of the State Did not Require so great haste in that matter they Could Not But Know that from the Time the printed Copies were sent to the Towns and they have Their Meetings To the Time of Making Returns was insufficient for Even one Quarter of the people to understand it, by help of so few Copies as Could be got: and further to prove the Confusion of the people in the matter for want of Time to understand it Some of those Towns that made Returns: they were Such as no man Could Certainly Determine what they would have; and must have Been guesst att in order to settling a frame of government at this Time had there Not Been wisdom sufficient in Convention to solve great Doubts in Times of Extremity. But a frame of government must go on and nothing Could impede its march when pushd and Drawd by such Violent force; for the Reasons above mentioned with many others we do appear in a publick way against the said Constitution or frame of government and wish that your Sentiments may Coincide with ours on the premises which will be to use your uttmost influence on your Neighbouring Towns To Join you and us with all Their Might in overthrowing the said Constitution or frame of government as a huge monster whose uncouth and unhallowed Strides may Crush the people to a State of abject Slavery, from which Deplorable Circumstance May the heavens protect us, by Directing us in a right way, and adding a Blessing thereto; the only practicable way to obtain our purpose above that we Can think of at present is intirely To Refuse To have any Town Meeting or do any thing else in Consequence of said frame of government, and are Ready to proceed in that way, or any other way that shall appear to be more Expedient, which you and other Towns joining with us shall agree upon. In Case you shall agree To Join with us in measures above proposed, we Desire you to Chuse a man or Men to Represent your Town at a Convention to be held at the wido. Lorings in plimptown on twenty fifth Day of September Next at Ten O'Clock in the morning to meet us with all the other Towns in this County who have just the same invitation as you have. Said Middleborough after great Care and pains to understand the frame of government



so as to make a proper return to Convention, were about a hundred against it to one for it: yet there Remained a Number that would not act or Vote for or against it, for no Other Reason But Because they Could not possibly know what it was to their Sattisfaction. After all which the said Town of Middleborough would be Considered as Earnestly wishing for a new Constitution or frame of government the Best that can be made and think themselves happy in joining their Best Efforts with yours to this Day against an implacable Enemy with so great Encouragement of Success.

All which is humbly offered from those who are yours and the publicks Devoted friends and humble Servants in the Common Cause.

MIDDLEBOROUGH, August 21st, 1780.

Signed By Direction and in Behalf of  
Said Town —

JOHN MILLER <sup>1</sup>	} <i>Committee for said Town</i>
BENJAMON THOMAS <sup>2</sup>	
ICHABOD WOOD	
BATCHELTER BENNETT	
ZEBEDEE SPROAT <sup>3</sup>	

To the Select Men of the Town of Plymouth: Gentlemen: it is Desired that the above be Laid Before your Town at a meeting warned for that purpose as Soon as may be.

To the Select Men of the Town of Plymouth, with Care.

Mr. THAYER read the following paper on

#### THE MARINE HOSPITALS OF NEW ENGLAND IN 1817.

I hope to present at a future meeting some biographical notice of Dr. Benjamin Waterhouse, whose permanent title to remembrance was his introduction of vaccination into the United States. His salient personality, as well as his connection with interests of many kinds, would, if adequately portrayed, keep him alive. He was born of English parents in Newport, Rhode Island, in 1754 and went to England in 1775 to study

<sup>1</sup> John Miller was, in 1784, captain of the Sixth Company of the militia of Middleboro, and a member of the convention from that town.

<sup>2</sup> On Benjamin Thomas, see Weston, *History of Middleboro*, 329. He was a member of the convention which adopted the Federal Constitution.

<sup>3</sup> See Weston, 432, where is reproduced a contemporary broadside on Sproat's maltreatment of his wife, Hannah Sproat.

medicine. There he had the advantage of being with a kinsman, Dr. John Fothergill, one of the foremost English physicians of the time, and after walking the hospitals of Edinburgh and London, he crossed to Leyden, where he graduated M.D. in 1780.

Returning to America he, with Drs. Warren and Dexter, founded the Harvard Medical School in 1783, and he served it as professor of the theory and practice of physic until 1812. He seems to have founded also the Botanic Garden and the Mineralogical Cabinet at Harvard. For several years he was head physician at the Boston Marine Hospital and after the War of 1812 he again received an appointment under the national government. In the autumn of 1817, being ordered to inspect the hospitals on the New England coast from Castine to New London, he visited them all and made the following reports, which I take from his letter-book. This, with other important material of his, is now in the possession of his great-granddaughter, Mrs. W. R. Thayer.

CAMBRIDGE. [November, 1817.]

Having received the orders of Brigadier General Miller<sup>1</sup> to examine rigidly all the hospitals at the several posts in this the 2d Department of the Northern Division, I proceeded on this duty on the 29th of October to Newbury Port, where I was joined by Mr. Allanson<sup>2</sup> the General's aid, and on the 30th was joined by General Miller and Col. Fenwick,<sup>3</sup> when we all together proceeded to the bay of Penobscott and from thence to Castine which is situated at the head of this magnificent bay.

This far famed spot naturally called forth all our attention. General, Engineer and Physician have viewed with the scrutinizing eyes of each profession, and it seems as if it were left to the pen of the latter to give the result.

About 140 years ago a French Colonel, by the name of Castine, son-in-law [of] a Penobscot chief, made this spot the head quarters of his excursions against the English. This French gentleman married a squaw, the daughter of the King so called, in order more effectually to distress the English. Col. Castine gave his name not only to the peninsula but to a township, as well as to the town built on the west side of the inclined plain between the fort and the water.

<sup>1</sup> James Miller (1776-1851).

<sup>2</sup> John Sylvanus Allanson, of New York, of the corps of artillery.

<sup>3</sup> John Roger Fenwick, of South Carolina.

The town contains about 800 inhabitants. It is difficult to say what supports them, for they have neither saw-mills, distilleries, or any kind of manufactures. The people generally date the decay of the town from the [blank].

The surgeon at this post is Dr. Wm. Ballard,<sup>1</sup> a learned and honorable man. But such has been the health of the troops that he has little to do. Having scarcely enough to call forth his energies in the strict line of his duty, he spends his leisure in the studies of the antient classics, in botany and mathematics. He has every thing needful about him as it regards medicine, instruments and hospital stores, but they are in little order, and not much to boast of in point of neatness. I have never found him wanting in his duty, or in his attention to the sick, but the reverse. Even his negligence of appearance is the negligence of the scholar and the man of talents. To which we may perhaps add that in all posts situated at the outskirts of the U. States, far distant from other forts, negligence to appearances is discernable. I have generally found that such as is the strict discipline, order and neatness of the garrison, such is the medical department of it.

The medical room or surgery is in a bad condition, and badly situated; the passage to it so dark as almost to need a candle in the day time. Every thing needfull was [to] be sure there; but not marked, numbered, and placed in that alphabetical order that marks some posts under surgeons of less merit than Dr. Ballard.

The barracks for the men were not in the best order, neither was the bedding remarkably clean. Almost every thing seemed out of repair. The men looked healthy, cheerfull and remarkably easy, insomuch that I should have mistaken them for militia had I not known to the contrary. I remarked the fatherly tenderness of the officers in allowing the men to wear gloves in the month of October.

As there is no infirmary, I should strongly recommend an hospital to be built, were there a probability of its ever being the residence of a numerous garrison. An hundred years hence, when the capital city of Maine shall be built on the banks of the Penobscott, then this important peninsula may be covered with fortifications and adorned with an hospital equal to them. That this will be the case appears probable from its commanding situation at the head of one of the most magnificent bays on the terraqueous globe, where depth of water, a shore as bold and even as that of Corunna and Ferrol, and nearly as well sheltered. Another circumstance, little spoken of is, that the bay is free from ice while the harbour of Boston is frozen so hard as to bear loaded waggons; and when the ice does make, it

<sup>1</sup> Of Massachusetts. He resigned from the service in 1822.

is seldom sufficient to bear a man, and breaks up, like the Baltic, all at once.

Castine is the centre of a considerable population, and is for that reason a shire town, where resides the register of deeds and probate of wills and where meet the courts of justice. Lest the Government should go to the expense of building an hospital for our enemies, I ascertained beyond all doubt from conversing with judges, clergymen, custom house officers, tavern-keepers, drovers, and women that they had an exalted opinion of British generosity.

It is a vulgar error that Fort George commands the mouth of the Penobscott. Vessels can enter it four miles distant from this fort. It is another vulgar error that the fort on the peninsula of Castine was [the] object of the unfortunate expedition set on foot by Massachusetts in 1779. It was against a fort on Bagaduce neck, where is a fine harbour, and which like Castine can be possessed at any time by that power which has the command of this magnificent bay by its naval superiority.

The River Penobscott is so superlatively fine for ease of navigation, and for its mill seats, and absolutely luxuriant borders, that it cannot fail to be farther dignified by being in future times to the capital of Maine what some of the finest rivers of the world are to their respective emporiums.

That Castine would be an invaluable spot to the British no one can doubt; but that it is to us, or will be, untill every village in its vicinity is a city, who, that sees it, and knows the present number and wishes of the inhabitants, can believe. It is from these and similar facts, impertinent perhaps for me to mention, that I cannot recommend an hospital to be built here which in case of war with England, would be of no use to America.

So cold as to be uncomfortable to sit without fire during the months of May and October.

PORTLAND. Forts Preble and Scammel,<sup>1</sup> commanded by Major Crane.<sup>2</sup> Joseph Eaton,<sup>3</sup> Surgeon.

Fort Preble is situated on a point of land two miles from the town of Portland. The ground surrounding it, ceded to the U. S. does not exceed five acres. It is a dry gravelly soil with excellent water. Every thing within this enclosure is neat and clean. A neat garden

<sup>1</sup> Fort Preble was on Spring Point, in Cape Elizabeth, and Fort Scammell, opposite to it, on House Island.

<sup>2</sup> Ichabod Bennet Crane, of New Jersey. He held a brevet rank at this time. He died October 5, 1857.

<sup>3</sup> Of Massachusetts. He died March 16, 1860.

is attached to the commanding officer's quarters, and every thing has the aspect of great attention and good management; and the men very clean and well dressed. Yet there have been and still are, more diarrheas at this post than all the other posts in the Department put together. This problem I was at first puzzled to solve.

The surgeon is [an] able and very attentive man. His hospital is new and very neat; built on an elevated spot, with every thing proper about it. The beef, bread and water were of the best quality, (for I always make it a rule to taste them all). I could therefore find nothing in the surgeon's department nor in the food that could account for these extraordinary diarrheas, untill I visited the barracks, and there I found that the men were not allowed to sleep on straw, but lay on the cold, hard boards.

PORTSMOUTH. Fort Constitution, commanded by Col. Walbeck.<sup>1</sup>  
Joseph Goodhue,<sup>2</sup> Post Surgeon.

Situated on a peninsula, or rather Island at the mouth of the harbour of Portsmouth. Every thing in and about this fort is very neat and proper: The barracks clean and well ventilated and not over crowded. The bedding is good and kept neat.

The medicine is ample in quantity and good in quality. The same may be said of the hospital stores, and of the surgical instruments. The surgeon is an able and experienced man and zealous to have his infirmary and all his medical matters like the rest of this garrison; but he has not the means. They have no suitable building for an hospital, or surgical room, nor any thing of the kind suitable to such a respectable post. I have therefore no hesitation in reporting that there is needed a new hospital at Fort Constitution. It may however be suggested that whereas it is not improbable that this fort may become but a secondary post in this harbour the government might hesitate on that account to go to any great expense in a building on this spot, seeing the principal may hereafter be fort Sullivan. Might it not therefore be wise to build here a small hospital, similar to that at Portland, but constructed so as to be converted, with little or no expense, into barracks? There is a good garden here, and the garrison have this season raised on the grounds surrounding the fort upwards of a thousand bushels of potatoes. The bargemen have hard service at this post, and require warmer clothing than the ordinary soldier especially about the throat and breast. It would be well to supply them in the winter with match-coats, especi-

<sup>1</sup> John De Barth Walbach, a German, who served through the war of 1812 with merit, and died a brigadier general, June 10, 1857.

<sup>2</sup> Of Vermont. He resigned in 1824.

ally if they be long exposed, late at night on the wharf, for some officer. I have known several men date their sickness to such exposure.

If neatness, order, good food and good water and an experienced surgeon ensure health, we need not wonder that this post has enjoyed so great a share of it.

Fort McClary on the opposite shore has a good spot for a garden, should it be again garrisoned. Perhaps every fort ought to have a garden, where they may raise medicinal as well as culinary vegetables. Convalescents may often be employed to advantage in a garden. It is also an healthy and sometimes a very pleasant occupation for an officer. We seldom find an English or Dutch fort without a garden. In general it is so cold here that it is uncomfortable to sit without fire during the month of May and the two last weeks of October.

#### MARBLEHEAD. Fort Sewall.

This compact fort is built on a peninsula of scarcely two acres in extent. In stormy weather the spray of sea may be felt to its centre. Even in the dryest seasons there is a dampness on the walls of the barracks of the privates and the quarters of the officers, rusting every thing metallic and injuring other things, and disposing the garrison to catarrhs and rheumatisms. This inconvenience is however counteracted by extreme neatness in every part of this exemplary garrison, where we find every proper thing in its proper place. In every post I have visited the men were in their uniform, but here they were in their undress; yet was it easy to discover their aspect of health, cheerfulness and vigour. To my eye they appeared a select corps of picked men. Their barracks was a pattern of neatness and order, which conduces to health.

The medicines are pretty good. The hospital stores as good as need be. Some of the surgical instruments are good; others as trapaning instruments too bad to be sent by the Apothecary General, or to be received by the surgeon. Such instruments should be reported useless. Some instruments as well as medicine suffer by the dampness of the place, but no care seems wanting to counteract it.

The water which is within a few feet of the sea is remarkably good. The provisions of all sorts are excellent. The bread better than at any other garrison I have visited. The cookery is out of the fort on a rock. I regretted that there was no room for a garden. There is a fishing schooner attached to this garrison that supplies them with fresh fish, and fish cured and salted. A miserable looking guard house forms a striking contrast to a fort distinguished for neatness

and order, or what expresses the whole economy. With the exception just mentioned this fort does credit to Col. Harris<sup>1</sup> and to our country, not but what much may be attributed to Dr. S.,<sup>2</sup> an able and experienced surgeon.

The bed frames are so well painted as to exclude bugs. Should we adopt the iron beadsteads, such as they have in British hospitals, we should find them cheapest in the end.

The appearance of the men at this post convinces me that the health and cheerfulness of troops depend almost entirely on old and correct officers, and good but easy discipline. The waste of health under new and inexperienced officers is shocking to humanity.

BOSTON HARBOUR. Fort Independence and Warren commanded by Col. Eustis<sup>3</sup> and garrisoned by three companies. Lewis Dunham,<sup>4</sup> Surgeon.

This fort is built on Castle Island which is about 13 acres in extent and four miles from Boston. As this is the most important and numerous garrison in the Department we had a right to expect a corresponding degree of attention in whatever regarded the health and comfort of the troops.

The hospital is a miserable old building not worth repairing, being pervious, I should suppose, to snow and rain. Some parts of its interior is kept pretty neat, others not. The bedding [is] not very neat. The chief surgeon is at this time absent on furlough. Here I found a very attentive and experienced Ward Master, on whom, as far as I could find, the principal care of things devolved. The medicine room was in good order and very amply supplied with good medicine, but not very well assorted. Here was opium enough to serve such a garrison fifty years. The hospital stores were also in abundance and of the very best quality. The surgical instruments not in the best order.

The barracks for the men of two stories. They cook in the lower rooms. Every room was over heated by fires, when no cooking was going forward. Nov. 6th a very warm day. The upper rooms were small, dirty and too much crowded. The lower rooms were well ventilated, but the upper ones not. Such rooms must be very uncomfortable and of course unhealthy in the hottest weather. The square, parade and walks of this fort were neat, but the rooms generally the reverse. It has a garden sufficient for the officers.

<sup>1</sup> Samuel D. Harris, of Massachusetts. He resigned in 1821.

<sup>2</sup> James Harry Sargent, of Massachusetts. He resigned in 1846.

<sup>3</sup> Abram Eustis, of Virginia.

<sup>4</sup> Of New Jersey. He resigned in 1819.

I have remarked that the medical matters seemed to rest principally on an experienced and very attentive ward master. I would observe here that no regimental hospital or infirmary is entitled to a ward master in full pay. Such an officer belongs alone to a *general* hospital. I therefore considered the hospital in some measure in this point of view. But when I wished to send a man to it, because there was no suitable place for his peculiar case at the Arsenal, Col. Eustis refused him admittance. The Surgeon of this garrison Dr. Dunham has ever conducted as if he did not consider himself under the controul of the Medical Director. He would make no returns to him, until he was ordered to do it by General Miller. He created difficulties and delays about supplies of medicine, and has given me more trouble, and more room for censuring him than all the rest of the surgeons together in the Department. I enclose one of his returns to illustrate my observations. When I have asked explanations, he declined giving them; and the only time he called upon me was with a view to personal altercation rather than explanation.

I have long been dissatisfied with the medical affairs of this post. There is a great difference between a popular, convivial, companionable surgeon, and the grave and steady man devoted like Dr. Sargent entirely to the duties of his station. Dr. Sargent resided nearly ten years at this garrison, and filled up the measure of his duty to the full. I was abundantly satisfied with all his conduct. The garrison at Marblehead has now the advantage of his long experience and steady character.

The deficiencies and defects of returns, and other marks of want of due consideration render it my duty to notice the necessity of some change in the medical affairs of this important post.

A new hospital is absolutely needed here. Should one be built, would it not be well to build it of brick, or stone, and so constructed and situated as to convert it into barracks in case this fort and Island should become only a secondary post?

The Dungeon, or black hole has, I have reason for believing been the death of several men. I dare not express fully my feelings on this painful subject, lest I should be thought to wander from my proper department into that of the police of the garrison and jurisdiction of court martials. I cannot however resist remarking that confinement in these dungeons is a very *unequal* punishment. Some can live through it, *but some cannot*. There is something horrible in putting a man to death by the gradual torture of stifling him day and night for a month. The effluvium of human excrements in some of these dungeons is enough to sicken the strongest man. Cannot this horrid mode of punishment be commuted for some other less revolting to humanity?



## NEWPORT, RHODE ISLAND. Fort Woolcott.

If the visit at the garrison at Fort Independence left not the most agreeable impression, that at fort Wolcott in Newport harbour compensated and more than compensated my feeling of regret.

When I visited fort Constitution in Portsmouth harbour, I thought it could hardly be exceeded until I saw the smaller fort at Marblehead; and this I was sure could not be excelled, and yet when I visited this post under the command of Col. Towson,<sup>1</sup> I saw that it was possible.

Goat Island on which fort Woolcott is built contains about twenty acres, being long and narrow, and lays about a mile and an half from the town of Newport. It is so situated as to be sheltered from the destructive effects of violent storms especially from the south west to north east. The Island is smooth having no excavations to retain stagnant water. Its position is remarkably pleasant, and its soil dry, yet in a good degree fertile.

From the waters edge, on every side, to the flag staff there is such a neat and garrison like aspect, as reminds us of the forts on the Scheldt and the Maise in the Netherlands. Every thing [from] the head of the pier to the commandant's quarters and the men's barracks appears in its proper place, and sett off with not neatness only but taste. The barracks are in the best possible state, and every utensil as neat as at the fort of Marblehead. All the men look in perfect health; not a sick man among them. Their provisions good and the water excellent. As is the fort and garrison so is the hospital, orderly, neat and commodious, with a garden that may be denominated spacious. This and land marked out for the inclosure of the [blank] are not yet finished.

The hospital itself is of a proper size, and neat as well can be. I could discover nothing wanting for the comfort of the sick. The bedding was very good and clean. The Surgery or Medicine room in the best order, as were the instruments; some of which however were not of the best quality; a defect which nothing but the difficulty of procuring English instruments during the war can be apologized for. Every thing in this little hospital did its surgeon credit. His bandages, various dressings, splints, spare cotton, flannel etc. were in the best possible condition in case of serious emergency. I have no hesitation in saying that Dr. Turner's<sup>2</sup> hospital matters and surgical apparatus stand the first in my opinion in this Department. Turner, Sargent, Goodhue, and Eaton reflect credit on the garrisons to which they are attached. There is less to find fault with, or to

<sup>1</sup> Nathan Towson, of Maryland (1784-1854).

<sup>2</sup> William Turner, of New Jersey. He died in 1837.

regret in this garrison than any one I ever visited. I have seen that which bears evidence of the officers and that the soldiers are here employed to make their situation more and more pleasant and comfortable.

NEW LONDON, CONNECTICUT. Fort Trumbull. Commanded by Capt. McDowell.<sup>1</sup> Alexander Cunningham, Surgeon.

This fort is built on a point of land projecting into the river, and about one mile from the town. The land surrounding belonging to the U. S. does not exceed ten acres.

The rooms appropriated for an hospital and for a surgery [are] very much out of repair, and unfit for the purpose, and every thing within it is pretty much in the same stile. The medicine is not arranged in good order. The instruments, bandages, cotton and woollen are all jumbled together without appearance of system. The medicines are scattered about in two rooms. The surgeon is I conjecture between seventy and eighty years of age, on which account I gave him several hours' notice of my intended visit. This gentleman does not reside in the fort, but in the town of New London. The barracks and bedding are not over neat, yet every thing appertaining to the soldiery, looks fit, I believe to meet a soldiers' eye. There is a good garden and good water and good provisions. The whole bore the aspect of a neglected post. If this post did not [*unfinished*.]

N.B. This whole report is copied into a stitched book, and sent November 27th, 1817.

TO MAJOR GENERAL JACOB BROWN.

SIR,

November 27, 1817.

By this mail I send the report of my visit of inspection to all the posts in the Department. Should it be thought that I have noticed the general state of such things, as may be considered by some beyond the line of the Physician, I would say in defence of it, that I have found generally, *That as is the neatness, order, and comfort of the garrison so is the medical affairs thereof*. It reflects credit on our Nation, that out of 1019 men, only one man died in the course of six months; and that one was of a lingering consumption. Such a little army must be a good *leaven* for a greater one.

I question whether any plan short of that of a *Physician General*,<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Andrew McDowell, of New Hampshire. He died in 1829.

<sup>2</sup> From 1778 to 1800 James Craik had held the place of Physician-General, but on his death, no new appointment was made until 1813, when James Tilton became Physician and Surgeon-General. After 1818 the office became that of Surgeon-General and has since so remained.

will give that *uniformity* to our medical procedure which marks and dignifies some of the armies of Europe, the want of which I so much lament in our own. Were I a man of more consequence, I would venture to represent this thing to the President, in a view rather philosophical than official. I am confident that the establishment of such an high officer would be not only wisdom but economy. Most respectfully yours, etc.

B. W.

TO COL. JOHN E. WOOL, INSPECTOR GENERAL.

November 27, 1817.

SIR,

By this mail I transmit to the Adjutant General the report of my visit of inspection of the hospitals at all the posts between Castine and N. London. A short but severe indisposition, from exposure in a storm, prevented my compleating and transmitting this document so soon as I expected, and perhaps ought. In this report I have endeavoured to keep the due medium between prolixity and too great conciseness. Reports in a tabular form are too concise on which to form an accurate judgment. I have endeavoured to shew the inside of our medical establishments. I could not do this without mixing in with it somewhat of the garrison itself. The mere surgeon considers little more than the mechanical parts of his profession, whereas the physician contemplates not only the man, but every thing about him that may affect his health and comfort. Hence it is that I always notice the cheerful or the discontented countenance of a garrison.

Our service is singular in denominating all their medical officers Surgeons, whereas those of a certain rank ou[gh]t to be called Physicians. A *surgeon*, as the word implies, is an operator, or one who assists the disabled with his *hands*, whereas the physician contemplates man, and all the concomitants of humanity — air, earth, water, situation, food, and climate are the pages he studies for the preservation [of the] health and comfort of the soldier. There is more merit in *preventing* a disease than curing it, and this is a doctrine I unceasingly inculcate to officers and surgeons in garrison.

It may be mentioned to the honor of our select little army, that but *one* man has died out of *one thousand and nineteen men* in this Department during the last half year. Our domestic enemies must allow that this is evidence of a kind Providence *operating through good means*. While our garrisons have been remarkably healthy, our citizens, in different parts of this military Department have been very sickly. In some towns, as in England, the dysentery has swept

off a frightful number of the inhabitants. I was induced to write a circular letter to the surgeons of all our posts, lest they should adopt the absurd and destructive practice of our citizen practitioners. Not a man has died, to my knowledge who has been treated in the way recommended in that circular.

I lent that topographical sketch I showed you to General Swift,<sup>1</sup> by way of vade mecum for the President when viewing Boston harbour and Charlestown. The General seemed very much pleased with it; but afterwards, grew distant, and never allowed the President to see it, neither did he ever return it to me. His conduct on this head was unaccountable.

I have ventured in the conclusion of my report to give it as my decided opinion that we never can establish and carry into effect an *uniform system of medical ECONOMY*, in the literal sense of that word, unless we have such an officer as a *Physician General*, who shall be the Medical Minister, from whom shall emanate all rules and orders, and in whom shall centre all the information relative to the medical and pharmaceutical affairs of the army. All other nations have such an officer, and we cannot get on well without one. At present every hospital surgeon has his *portion* — no two think alike, and whenever they come near to each other, they commence intriguing against each other; “hard words, jealousies and fears” are the consequence. An able Physician General would cure all this, and place things on that sure and respectable footing, which marks and dignifies some of the armies of Europe. I am confident that the establishment of such an officer would be *economy* as well as wisdom.

TO JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.<sup>2</sup>

January 3d, 1818.

DEAR SIR,

I herewith enclose to you a scheme or plan for changing the punishment of death for that of constant compulsory labour in a military Penitentiary. It relates merely to our soldiery, as you will see on perusal.

As it is intended for the eye of the President of the U. S., I thought there was more propriety in sending it to you than to [the] Secretary at War; because I have done this in my quality as a citizen rather than as one of the physicians of the Army. But as I am not sure which is the most proper channel, I feel disposed to ask your direction; and hope you will transmit it as you judge most proper.

This paper has grown up from many conversations with our mili-

<sup>1</sup> Joseph Gardner Swift, of Massachusetts. He died in 1865.

<sup>2</sup> Then Secretary of State.

tary commanders, more especially with General Miller, who is as humane as he is brave. I have been indebted to his minutes for some of the most pithy part of it. I should hardly have had the courage to have framed it, and sent it on had not General Miller requested me to give to it his entire and unqualified approbation as to its feasibility.

If it meet with your approbation I hope you will add to it the weight of your good opinion.

The punishment of the *black hole*, adopted in our garrisons in the place of whipping, is a disgrace to our country. I am confident it has destroyed the lives of several. I have seen enough in my late visits of inspection to the different posts in this Department, under an order to examine all hospitals and medical matters, to warm my zeal in abolishing it, and offering something more congenial to our humane character.

I have address[ed] a letter to the President which you may suppress if it be improper to forward it; for I am ignorant of the rules, or etiquette in such cases. I have communicated the outlines of the plan to your venerable Father, and have still the satisfaction of receiving a letter from him almost every week. I think your return to America will add a few more links to the chain of his most valuable life. My best regards to your good Lady. Your son is with us sometimes, but not so often as we wish.

Mr. DAVIS presented the following paper:

#### GOVERNOR HUTCHINSON'S CURRENCY TRACT.

At a meeting of this Society held in February, 1899, I communicated a paper entitled "A Search for a Pamphlet by Governor Hutchinson."<sup>1</sup> The investigation which constituted the substance of the paper was instituted in consequence of my having recently run across a statement in *The Diary and Letters of Thomas Hutchinson*, a work brought forth by P. O. Hutchinson, to the effect that in 1736 Governor Hutchinson published a small pamphlet on the subject of paper money. I was then at work on a study of our provincial currency and was quite sure that no pamphlet had been preserved the authorship of which was openly acknowledged by Governor Hutchinson. My paper was therefore limited to an attempt to determine whether any of the pamphlets that had come down to us might

<sup>1</sup> 2 *Proceedings*, XII. 429.

with propriety be assigned to Hutchinson, and if so which it was. The selection was, as a matter of fact, not difficult to make. There were but two pamphlets dealing with the currency question, printed in 1736, to be found on the shelves of our libraries. Both were anonymous and the choice between them presented no difficulty. The one did not advocate the well-known opinions of the Governor; the other not only made a strong presentation of the views that he was known to hold, but had internal evidence tending to show that it was composed by him.

Had it been certain that no mistake had been made in the date of the pamphlet, and that the publications preserved in our libraries actually contained all the currency tracts of the period, there was strength enough in this evidence to have practically settled the question. At this point, however, the matter was complicated by the fact that both Haven and Sabine attribute an anonymous publication of the date of 1740 to Hutchinson, thus raising a doubt as to the accuracy of the date assigned to the pamphlet. It happens that the question of the title and authorship of this particular publication had been thoroughly examined by Wilberforce Eames, who came to the conclusion that Haven and Sabine had connected Hutchinson's name with Douglass's *Discourse*, so that while this entry was eliminated from the discussion, it nevertheless showed that something more was necessary than a mere examination of the pamphlets published in the year 1736.

There was a bare possibility that Hutchinson might have published a pamphlet over his own name which had not been preserved, but of which trace had been lost. This was extremely improbable, but would have required consideration, had it not been for the fact that one of the anonymous pamphlets of date of 1736 fulfilled all the conditions required for authorship by Hutchinson, containing, as it did, not only the advocacy of views corresponding with his own, but also bearing evidence in its style that it was composed by him. The conjectural determination of the authorship of the pamphlet may be said to have been satisfactory on the existing evidence, but it is clear that corroboratory testimony of a more conclusive character will be welcomed.

Quite recently the London agent of the Harvard Library has been offered, by the Rev. Sanford Hutchinson of Stoke-

on-Trent, an opportunity to purchase the manuscript of Hutchinson's third volume of his *History*, together with copies of Volumes I and II, with marginal annotations by Hutchinson himself. Accompanying these and included in the lot for sale, were several volumes of pamphlets of the revolutionary and pre-revolutionary period. Among these pamphlets was one entitled *A Letter to a Member of the Honorable House of Representatives on the present State of the Bills of Credit*, printed in the year 1736, and signed "Philopatriæ." The authorship of this pamphlet is ascribed to the Governor in an index inserted in the volume. As this was the pamphlet selected by me as the one which met the requirements for authorship by the Governor, and as the Society reprinted the pamphlet in 2 *Proceedings*, XII. 450, as an appendix to my paper, it is perhaps worth while to take cognizance of this corroboration at the hands of the Hutchinson family of the selection then made.

#### LETTERS OF JOHN TULLEY.

The following letters are, by the courtesy of Mr. William A. Jeffries, drawn from the Jeffries family papers. They were written by the compiler of Tulley's *Almanacs* to the printer, Benjamin Harris, and to his son, Vavasour Harris. A letter from Tulley to the elder Harris, dated May 7, 1694, was presented to the Society in 1892 by Dr. Green, and is printed in 2 *Proceedings*, VII. 415.

Received of Mr. Joseph Blague<sup>1</sup> upon the account of *d sh*  
the almanacke . . . . . 2 13 04

#### Memorandum, To buy for John Tulley

1. a thousand and  $\frac{1}{2}$  half of 8*d* naiels . . . . .
2. And half a thousand of 6*d* naiels . . . . .
3. a neck-cloathe for William . . . . . 00 05 00
4. A mantey for Lydia ready made . . . . . 01 09 00
5. Eight yards of stuff for a mantey for my wife . . . 01 04 00
6. 3 or 4 brass thimbles . . . . . 00 00 06
7. a white silk hood for Debarah . . . . . 00 08 00

A [I] pray Mr. Harris to send me by your Brother  
John Kirtland<sup>2</sup> Mr. Nathaniell Colson Mariners

new Kalender which was printed in the year 1691 *no 04 00*

*3 10 06*

<sup>1</sup> Of Saybrook, Conn.

<sup>2</sup> Of Saybrook. This memorandum was sent to a brother, or brother-in-law

MR. HARRIS, —

Kind Sr, after my loue and respects presented vnto you, These may let you vnderstand, that I purpose to make you an Almanack for the next yeare: 94: and do Intend (god willing) to have it ready to send down by the last of August or beginning of September, and therefore I would Intreat you to write me word to whom I shall deliver the Almanack, vnto, and whether you would haue it sent down by land or water. I have not as yet receiued one Almanack from Mr. Phillips<sup>1</sup> this yeare, but I hope he will send me some by the bearer hereof, it was in my order who euer had the Coppy to haue 2 Doz: and one bound one, and so I expect to haue yearly for the supply of my friends and neighbors, and I hope you will be so kind to take care to send them before winter, that I may haue them before the new yeare begins. I heard you printed the almanacks for Mr. Phillips, and if he should want some to send me peradventure you can supply him. Thus being in hast I rest, your Loueing Friend

JOHN TULLEY.

SAY BROOKE 14 of March 1692-93.

[Address] These For Mr. Benjamin Harris Printer, at the London Coffee-house in Boston. present with care. pr. Mr. John Bull.

MR. HARRIS, Sir, after my loueing respects presented to you these may let you vnderstand that by the last post I received two letters beareing date the 1st of this Instant October, and 2 dozen of Almanacks, for which I giue many thanks for your care therein in sending of them and hope you will send the nailes according as you have mentioned in your letters. my son John<sup>2</sup> is coming down in a vessell that was built here this summer, and Intends to give you a vesset. Pray deliver this inclosed letter to him. I have in a hurry purrused the Almanack with the Coppy and do not as yet find any mistakes considerable or worth mending. they came to some damage in the bringing by reason of the wet season when they were brought. Sir, I am desired to Informe you by the master of our posthouse that when you send your letters they should be carried first to your posthouse and put into the Say-Brook bag, that so they may come safe. otherwise perhaps they may not. I pray by all means forget not to

of Kirtland, whose father, Nathanael, was of Lynn, and is said to have lived in Silver Street, London, before his migration. His only son, John, removed to Saybrook during his minority, and was adopted by John and Susannah Wastall. He married Lydia Pratt of Saybrook, whose brother William Pratt had married Hannah, sister of John Kirtland.

<sup>1</sup> Samuel Phillips, who had, since 1692, published Tulley's almanacs.

<sup>2</sup> He died at sea.



send my naiels. if the post cannot bring them, then I pray send them without faile by my son. Thus in hast I rest your Loueing Friend,

JOHN TULLEY, SENIOR.

SAY-BROOK, Oct. 10th, 1694.

[Address] These for Mr. Vavasour Harris Printer at the signe of the Bible ouer against the bleu Anchor in Boston present with care.

MR. VAVASOUR HARRIS, —

These are to intreate you to pay vnto Mr. Joseph Blague, the sume of two and Forty shillings in money, which vpon part of pay for the next yeares almanack place to the account of your Loueing Friend

JOHN TULLEY, SENIOR.

SAY-BROOKE, the 4th of June, 1695.

MR. HARRIS, —

And loueing Friend. These may let you vnderstand that I receiued a letter from you bearing date June the 17, 1695, wherein I expected to haue seen you here with Mr. Blague, but I vnderstand that you and I am disapointed of our expectations. Sir you sent me a little booke by Mr. Blague intitled New-England Almanack:<sup>1</sup> which will be no help or advantage to me in the makeing of my almanacke, for I can make a better then that which would be more vsefull without the help of it. Sir, it is such an Ephemeris that I would haue wherein the motions of the Sun and moon and the other fiae planets with their Aspects are calculated for a Certaine number of yeares to come for the miridian of the City of London. I haue very good tables already fitted to the miridian of London whereby with the help of certaine other bookes I can calculate the motions of them [torn] moon and her Changes full and quarters and eclipses as also the motions of [the rest of] the planets for any year, past, presant, or to come, but it takes me vpe a great deale of time to do it, more than I can well spare, therefore I would willingly get an Æphemeris wherein the dayly motions of the planets are calculated for certaine years to come for the miridian of London, and then I can esier fit it to our miridian, from the meridian of London then I can do it from my tables. But however I shall not stay for an Ephemeris, for I am a makeing of it by my tables, as I have done heretofore, and hope to haue it finished according to the vsuall time and then I will send it downe to you, if I doe not bring it my selfe, my son John [*is gone*] to fyall he went away from hence the 17th day of June last past. Sir,

<sup>1</sup> By Christian Lodowick, and published by Samuel Phillips.

I am informed that a friend of his desired him to procure him a perrywig and to that end as I am informed there was hair sent downe to you to make it withall, now his friend tells me that he vnderstands by Mr. Blague that it is made, and you keepe it for my son John till he comes home from fyall, supposing or rather not knowing any thing to the Contrary but that it was for himself, and now my son being gone, and his friend in want of it desired me to write to you for it, that you would be pleased without faile to send it to me by the next post as also the price what you must haue for it and I will take care that your money shall be sent to you by the next post except you shall see cause to order it to me vpon the account of the almanack. I would also Intreat you to send me by the next post a little booke bound called the Devout Soul's dayly Exercise, in prayers, contemplations and praises, etc: by R. P: D. D.<sup>1</sup> for a friend, as also the verses made about the queenes death. I hope as soon as your father is come he will write to me. I should be very glad to here of his safe ariuell, and if he should send or bring an Ephemeris pray take the first oppertunity to send it well bound vp and sealed that it be not torn in the bringing, for if it should not come soone enough this year, it may serue for the future. Thus with my kind loue and respects and wives presented to you and your Loueing mother, I Rest your Loueing Friend

JOHN TULLEY, SENIOR.

SAY-BROOK, the 17th of July, 1695.

[Address] These for Mr. Vavasour Harris Printer at the signe of the Bible ouer against the blew Anchor In Boston present these with care.

#### BRAKENBURY'S RECANTATION.

Boston in N: E: this 14th of the  
2d moneth, 1659.

Whereas there was a false and scandalous report in England concerning mr Nathanael Mather preacher of the word of god at Barnstable in Engl: aforesaid, viz: that he the said mr Mather was culpable in New Engl: of misdemeanour with a woman afore he went from hence; And whereas I John Brackenbury now of Boston in New Engl: aforesaid togeather with another man are said to be the Authors or raisers of the said report, Therefore for the clearing of the truth in this matter I the said John Brackenbury do hereby declare and testify, as followeth, viz: that being some while agoe at Barn-

<sup>1</sup> Issued in 1691, it passed into four editions by 1695. The name of the author is not known.

stable aforemençoned and being there asked whether the thing were so, that he the said mr Mather was culpable in N: E: of the evill aforemençoned I suddenly and inconsiderably affirmed that he was, and that the thing was true. But not long after calling to mynd my great mistake herein (for my thoughts at that time were upon another man who was so culpable indeed) and considering what wrong I had done to mr Mather aforesaid by what I had so inconsiderably and untruely spoken of him, I thereupon went to the Governour or chiefe magistrate in Barnstable aforesaid, and before him acknowledged my great mistake in this matter, and desyred as much as lay in me to take off the blemish which might there by my meanes be raised or strengthened against him the said mr Mather. And I do still acknowledge that it was my great fault to speake of mr Mather as I did, who never deserved any such thing at my hands, nor did I ever know him guilty of the evill aforemençoned in the least degree. But desyring forgiveness from god and men for this vnadvised and vntrue saying of myne, I do also desyre that mr Mather aforemençoned may not suffer in the thoughts of any by meanes of what was so vnguardedly spoken by me.

JNO. BRAKENBURY.

The above written was acknowledged by John Brakenbury to be that which he had spoken, and also which hee is sorry for as a thing mistaken and that this which is vnderwritten, viz. John Brackenburys his name, was his hand and this he testified before me the 14th of Aprill, 1659

JO: ENDECOTT, *Gour.*

FROM JOHN ELIOT TO JOHN COTTON.

Beloved bro: Cotton, — if you knew what a refreshing comfort it is to my heart which you sent me in that one leafe, it would be a spur to your heart to be diligent and accurate, to goe on as you have so well began, and I hope for the like help from you through the whole work of the Bible. This one leafe hath afforded me more helpe in that work of translation, then ever I had before from any English man. *plus vident oculi quam oculus.* when you come (if the Lord will) I shall give you an account of what help it hath afforded me, and we shall contrive how to act herein for the future. The first sheets of Matthew was printed off before I received this welcome leafe, but in all that follow I hope I shall make due use of your observations. I need not tell you that Mr. Oaks<sup>1</sup> is to be installed Presi-

<sup>1</sup> He entered into office February 2, 1679-80, having served as acting President since April 7, 1675.

dent, the 4<sup>t</sup> of May, and Mr. Shepard to be ordained the 5 day of May.<sup>1</sup> I am glad to heare of your welfaire. my respects to your yockfellow. Let Prayers be mutual, to him who is our only helpe to whom I commit you and rest, your loving brother

JOHN ELIOT.

Endorsed: From Mr. Eliot Senior. Received April 26: 1680.

JOHN ROGERS TO JOSEPH DUDLEY.

Good Sir,

Your second letter I have received for which I thanke you most heartily. I was exceeding Glad to see your hand writing and to kisse your hand after the best manner I could. I perceive, and do not wonder at it, that you are solicitous concerning the welfare of your son, Thomas, who is pretty well and in no danger, hath had indeed the feaver and ague an epidemical disease amongst us. I hardly know of one family in this Towne or Cambridge that hath not come downe of that ilnes. Many in the colledge have been and are down of it, two in our owne family. As soon as I understood your son began to be ill, we sent for him over to our house, and my wife tended him as well as she could, but my aunt sent for him home. I visited him there yesterday, being under Mr. Allen his care and he is better, and without danger. Notwithstanding the disease doth G[row], yet through the Grace of God, there are hardly any that dy of it. I am hardly assured of one. Our poor Town of Ipswich within this 12 weekes have lost three or four of their principal men, the Major General before but in these few days, Mr. Jonathan Wade Senior, Mr. Thom: Andrews schoolmaster, Mr. Jno. Whipple Capt. of our horse that they are almost naked and much of their glory is departed. Sir, I cannot but condole your restraint who cannot turn again bout when you will nor to your own family: But I hope and pray heartily that you may soon have your liberty. I dare not say much to you of my apprehensions, but I should be glad you would please to communicate what you may. I hope you wil fare the better for the frequent yea constant prayers of al men of prayer. Yea you have the wel wishes of all. Sir, I must not enlarge but take leave. My wife presents her service to your worship. I pray accept of mine and present my hearty service to Mr. Richards. my aunt and Mrs. Richards are well. Mr. Kellond dyed on monday in the night and is to be buryed on the morrow, which is Fryday. Within

<sup>1</sup> Thomas Shepard (1658-1685), who succeeded his father as pastor of the church in Charlestown. John Sherman (1634-1685), of Watertown, and President Oakes officiated at his ordination.

this moneth or two at most have been 10 or 12 several untimely sudden deaths. Mr., Mrs Paige present etc. to you. No more but that I am your most humble servant and kinsman

J. ROGERS.

Boston. 16. 6. 83.

Remarks were made during the meeting by Messrs. J. C. WARREN, BOWDITCH, and SANBORN.

*Suffolk, sc.* RECEIV'd of *Mr Wm Adkinson* the.  
Sum of *l. 3. 14. 8<sup>1</sup>* in full  
of Excise for the Year, ending the 29 of  
*June 1730*  
per *Wm Dudley* { Collector  
of Excise